2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water.

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design.

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers.

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

village, form a chain across the stream and make a great commotion 226
and drive the fish downstream to a point near the village where another gang with sack nets awaits to bag the game. Sometimes they fish at dead of night, but as a rule they rarely leave the village after dark except in war.

Late one cloudy afternoon we had the pleasure of seeing the Bororó 524
play Mano, the name of the small banana-like plant used in this game. It seems to be a close imitation of some of the performances of ants. Indeed, the imitating of nature occupies a large part of the Bororó life. Early in the day they went up the river and cut many of these plants, which grow three or four feet high, floated them down on rude bamboo rafts, carried them to a point about 600 yards from the village, and placed them in two piles, one for each of the two parties into which every village is divided—the Xeríede and the Ta Nagarêde. Each group prepared its material by cutting off the tops of the mano, leaving a spongy stem about eighteen inches long, and when all was ready each made its pile into a huge wheel. This was done by two men for each wheel standing face to face, about five and a half feet apart, with two long, strong, parallel cords between them, reaching from the ground up over their shoulders, for binding the material into a wheel. The mano was then piled in between each pair of Indians acting as posts, and when the weight pressed too heavily upon them, they were supported by other Indians leaning against them, back to back. When the mano was all in place the cords were drawn over the top and tightened. The wheels were next laid flat on the ground and a string of men pulled with all their strength on each of the four ends of the cord for each wheel, while others pounded the spongy mass so close that it could not burst. Each wheel was again set upright to be seized and hurried off in the mad race for the village. But the Bororó must do things decently and in order, so a Ta Nagarêda man, with much ceremony steps quickly over to the Xeríede, takes a man by the wrist, trots him around his wheel and stops in front of it, meaning by this that his wheel is delivered to its party, and the same ceremony is repeated by the other side. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces others of his own party just as he himself was introduced, until all surround their own wheels. At a given signal each group seizes its wheel, throws it up on its shoulders, and runs pell mell in a race to the village. Each squad of these human sifts tries to keep its wheel upright as it sags this way and that, or finally rolls over on the carriers, to be quickly straightened up, and rushed along again, each crowd endeavoring to

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

524 keep the lead. As they entered the village one wheel burst through the side of a hut. Finally both parties threw down their wheels in the public square at nearly the same moment, greeted by the applause of the whole village. They now all retired to partake of their [352] evening feast and left the wheels to be torn apart by the women and children for use as pillows. A feast always ends the game, each 224 party eating separately.

226 When about to go on a fishing trip, especially when fish are 533 scarce, or on a hunting expedition, they sing the bakaroro, which seems to be a hymn in praise of the beast or fish that is to be hunted the next day. It is sung within the baehytu after nightfall and several times a week when food is scarce. The good qualities of the animal are named, and how well it will be treated and the use that will be made of it when taken. In this anthem, the man again exhibits his imitative qualities by attempting to reproduce the animal sounds which he has been most accustomed to hear. Frogs and toads are especially favored. While visiting the Kogy ao Paro village, about twenty miles away, we spent a night in the baehytu, and listened to the bakaroro at close quarters. The din, the darkness broken only by the red light of the fire that cooked our beef, the stagnant air, the noise of this squad of human beings reproducing the sound of everything that dwells thereabouts, made one imagine that he had passed from the earthly to the unearthly. [532] After the bakaroro, the singers went outside the baehytu, and having cleared away the black earth, brought ashes and made animals in relief on the ground, especially the tapir which they were to hunt next day. This is also a tribute of honor to the animals. They also sing the bakaroro in honor of a visitor. As they had seen men hunting on horses and admired this method, they formed a horse in relief with a man mounted on it.

462 It is always the man (mêdo, from meri, the sun) who does the light work, while the woman (arêda, from are, the moon) is the beast of burden. She it is who must provide food for the family. Her lord may go fishing or hunting, and if he brings home something, well and good, but if not, he expects to find food on returning to his hut.

582 There appears to be no regular marriage ceremony among them. 583 The girl is betrothed before reaching the age of eight or ten, and married at from ten to fourteen or even younger. She becomes betrothed by her would-be husband presenting to her parents a specially fine fish, or some animal whose flesh is much esteemed, he of course having made known in some way what he wishes in re-

B /279 cont./
285 mention, nor the surrounding figures, nor the construction of
532 twigs made this likely. All doubts vanished, however, when the Indian showed us, inside two squares, which were otherwise made up merely of crosswise twigs, several narrow, and in themselves quite meaningless, stretches of plaiting on which was wound a
B little yellow straw, and then explained: "capybara teeth." In
[239] other words, teeth of Hydrachoerus capybara or water hog, the
[136] large rodent characterized by huge incisors, the chisel of the
[412] natives. One had to admit that the outlines were roughly similar, but no European would have hit upon this correct inter-
B
* [171] pretation by himself. Finally, we saw in the artists' hut of the Auetó a plaited strip which they designated for us as "fish bones." It was the same figure as No. 5, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

Y I would have referred to these examples earlier, along with
285 the drawings, and not here if they had not been connected with
524 peculiarly plaited figures or dolls which we found among the
532 Nahuquá. Of the two illustrations 65 and 66 /see p. 315/, the one is easily understandable and suitable for a kindergarten, it represents a /280/ toad; the other, however, I, at any rate, would not have interpreted correctly even if I had thought about it for a year. We have to recognize it as a deer! And actually it is quite simple. First I need to start out that it is an animal; then the sharply protruding corner piece /Figs. 65-67 appear here/ to the right must be the head, and thus I have a four-footed animal, whereas I do not pay any attention to the three peaks on the back, since a Nahuquá is not familiar with a dromedary or a camel, to say nothing of an animal with three elevations on its back. It must, moreover, be a type of quadruped for which the tail, since it is missing, is not characteristic. What I see in the way of feet, however, corresponds most closely to the hoofs of the deer. Thus, I come slowly limping along behind the Nahuquá with my conclusions, while the Indian of another tribe, after brief reflection, finds the correct solution by himself.

BO Inasmuch as I considered the Bororó in connection with
285 the drawings, their analogous Froebel toy might be taken up in
● 524 this connection. The folded piece of palm leaf, Fig. 67 left
532 /see p. 315/ represents a "Bororó woman," that is to say, it is

/280 cont./

nothing more than the pubic band with the bark belt holding it. A "Bororó man" was represented by a palm leaf strip folded in the same way and then only a thread tied around it, the waist cord, which he wears besides his cuff and wore long before the invention of the cuff.

The straw figures of the Bakaïrí dance festivals are a special group. I shall have to discuss them in connection with the masks. They represented animals and were worn on the head. Span-long dolls served as children's toys and were also stuck on a pole in the roof of the festival

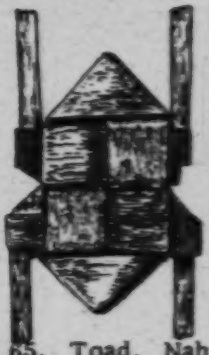

Fig. 65. Toad. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

hut as a sign that a masquerade was being celebrated; they announced to all the world: "Big dance entertainment today."

Fig. 66. Deer. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 67. Woman's and man's figure. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The two little dolls of Figure 68 /see p. 316/ seem to be very expressively summoning one for the merriment. In 1884 we came across larger straw figures, which were not used as headdresses, in front of the second Bakaïrí village on the Batovy. "Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, probably the remains from a festival." (They

/495 cont./

526 suddenly become very serious; the problem is to trip up the other one and thus bring him down. One of them opens the attack by trying to get his heel into the hollow of the knee of the other one and to bend it, but the latter places his tensely straightened leg so far back that the former cannot exert any pressure. Soon the attempts follow one another extremely rapidly on both sides until one falls. He may always take revenge. A small, agile, but ugly and one-eyed man whom we called the clown, but who was called Camões by his Cuyaban baptismal name, was excellent at this sort of entertainment in the ranchão, in that he threw three or four of his tallest fellow-tribesmen, one after the other. /496/ His stronger rivals, and surpassing him in size, used to point him out proudly, but at the same moment had his heel in the hollow of their knees and crashed to the ground.

[411] Shooting with the bow on the open plaza was often practiced. The photographs of Plate 28 /see p. 600/ and Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ were taken in connection with this.

Very popular among old and young was the burika, an invention of the soldiers: a horizontal beam, with short ropes at both ends, which turned in the center on a post; cf. Plate 25 /see p. 552/ where a crowd /Fig. 143 appears here/ of boys is having fun with the game. While one would sit astride on either end and others would run along hanging onto the ropes, the beam was swung around in faster and faster rotation by someone who remained a few moments longer at the post, until the riders were usually hurled to the ground.

524 In Figure 143 /see p. 621/ two kinds of toys are combined: papá, the ball plaited out of maize straw with an arara feather, and tagóra, a whip with a black urubu feather at the end of the string. The boys would swing the feather whip and enjoy the mild excitement of seeing the feather stand upright for a moment upon the ground if the handle of the whip was moved downward with a flick of the wrist. I once saw two boys make a bee and a butterfly flutter on a string.

534 765 Musical instruments; whizzer sticks. Only the large rattle gourds up to 20 centimeters long and a small blow-gourd, poári,

/496 cont./

534 965 [202] were to be found in ordinary use. The poari served as a signal horn in hunting; it was a gourd of the shape and size of a large apple, had a round cutout below, and a finger-long, thin little tube set on top, into which a tongue was cut at the side. With small bundles of the hair of the deceased hanging on them, the poaris were to be acquired from the Bororó only with difficulty. The only flute or trumpet that we saw is shown in Fig. 144; it was 1.21 meters long and was blown at the ceremony for the dead and when the bone-baskets were carried back to the house. A drum which was used at the same ceremony in the ranchão did not give the impression /497/ of originality; it was a wooden mortar with a piece of oxhide stretched over it; a couple of sticks of seriba palm wood served as drumsticks.

[524] Fig. 143. Maize ball and feather whip. Bororó. (1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Of greater interest are the whizzer sticks, both on account of the air of mystery connected with them, and on account of the painting, for they represent the only painted implement. I have reported on page 381 how the whizzer sticks are used. Whereas they are used on the Kulisehu only for the jolly masquerades or as a toy, they are put to use on the S. Lourenço only in connection with the

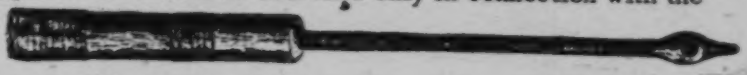

Fig. 144. Death flute. Bororó. (1/11 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

practices of the ceremony for the dead, first of all when the belongings of the dead person are burned and, in a pantomimic dance, it is made clear to the dead, who themselves appear, that nothing